1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

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*Parent- and Child-in-law Class*

| | |
|---|---|
| la'yuk | parent-in-law |
| tipu'a'ɣali | my son-in-law |
| le'"yec | my daughter-in-law |

*Sibling-in-law Class*

| | |
|---|---|
| ti.ula'rut | my wife's brother, husband's sister[29] |
| time.e'"uci | my husband's brother[30] |
| tida'mau | my sister's husband, if childless (see p. 313) |
| timaca'ca | my brother's wife (m. sp.) |
| tiya'ɣil | my brother's wife (w. sp.)[31] |

*Spouse Class*

| | |
|---|---|
| tipume'li | my husband |
| timlai'ya | my wife |

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114 Kroeber's and my data agree closely, perhaps the only noteworthy differences occurring in the sibling-in-law class; for differences in possessive prefixes for the two paired reciprocals with common stem (e.g., tipa'pa, my father's father; lapa'pa, my son's child, m. sp.) are probably only of linguistic interest.

601 Kroeber has pointed out the striking similarity of the Washo and the Pa-
114 viotso terminologies, neither "classificatory" in the traditional sense. Distin-
171 guishing father's brother from father *and* mother's brother, mother's sister from father's sister *and* mother, they represent the type I have designated as Bifurcate Collateral.[32] But in classing *all* cousins as siblings they exhibit one feature of a Generation system. Gifford's maps for grandparent and cousin terms[33] show our two tribes to be in both respects part of a very definite block. The same applies to the lack of Bifurcate Merging features. In other words, Washo and Paviotso terminologies are typical of a large Far Western area that is both positively and negatively different from the region east of the Rocky Mountains.

601 Kroeber obtained no vocative terms for either spouse. This is intelligible
● 593 from Bill's statement that husband and wife do not ordinarily address each other by the spouse term. Sometimes, but rarely, a wife may call her husband by the distinctive term, for example, tipume'li, k.e'yuk, "Husband, come here"; [551] and in a text giving a husband's imaginary speech to his wife he is made to address her as timlai'ya. They do not address each other by name. 601

Some of the applications of the terms were worked out with the aid of brief genealogies.

[29] Kroeber translates "man's sister's husband, wife's brother."

[30] Kroeber gives a descriptive term for "my child's father's brother."

[31] Also "husband's sister," according to Kroeber. According to Jack, there was no term for a woman's brother's wife.

[32] R. H. Lowie, A Note on Relationship Terminologies, AA 30:263–267, 1928.

[33] E. W. Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:130, 163, 1922.

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593 /For the statistical analyses of the results of the role-profile test and their application to the status and role of the individual in the society in relationship to primary and secondary kin relations, see category 116, pp. 372-375, 379(A)--413./

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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, sibless tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 395 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FS). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 395 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P 369, A]

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more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men (Categories 11, 12, 13, and 14). For the most part, mother's brother is a rather neutral figure showing few large positive or negative scores.

Mother's sister (MS). This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Mother's sister is neutral in affection for both males and females, ranks higher in submission for males, and fairly high in hostility towards both. Her rather high score in Category 13 for both men and women shows her to be a disapproving and critical relative.

Older brother (OB). The most distinctive feature of this role is its neutrality. Its scores in all categories are close to zero. This probably is due to older brother's ambiguous age position. He is older than ego but not a member of ego's parents' generation. Consequently, his role has attributes both of equality and of superiority. The result is a role lacking distinctive features.

Younger brother (YB). This is another role lacking distinctive features. The probable explanation is similar to that used for older brother: younger brother is ambivalent regarding age position, for he is younger than ego and yet a member of the same generation. The significant differences between older and younger brother occur in the first two categories. Older brother is a much more dominating figure than younger brother.

Older sister (OS). This role is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a mildly dominant and highly coöperative relative. For men, she is neutral in dominance, affiliation, and submission, but ranks high as a disapproving, critical, and suspicious relative. Significant differences in the roles occur in Categories 2 (to teach) and 6 (to cooperate.

Younger sister (YS). The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. It lacks distinctive features, seeming to fall between the roles of daughter and older sister. This is probably due to younger sister's position as a member of ego's generation who is younger than ego.

Male cousin (MaC) and Female cousin (FeC). These role profiles are based on a small number of protocols, since not many people use the cousin terms. Consequently, the profiles should be viewed with much less confidence than those of other relatives. The profiles indicate that cousins are unimportant relatives with whom there is little interaction. An apparent exception is the behavior of female cousins towards females in Category 13 (to disapprove).

Son (So). This relative ranks low in dominance and hostility and high in affection and submission. The profiles for men and women are similar.

Daughter (D). The role profiles for daughter closely resemble those of son; but there is more difference in the male and female profiles than there is for son. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Large differences also occur in Categories 6 (to coöperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect) with the profile for women scoring considerably higher.

Brother's child (BCh). This is a relative with whom there is little interaction. He ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility. The profiles

[P.369, B]

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for men and women are quite similar.

Sister's child (SCh). The role profiles of this relative are almost identical with those of brother's child. Sister's child ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, and low to neutral in submission and hostility. The role profiles for men and women are very similar.

A different perspective on Washo role behavior can be obtained from the graphs of the categories.[1] They facilitate comparison of the sixteen roles within the behavioral categories.

Category 1 (to order). The most important relatives in this category are those who are older than ego. Father and mother attain the highest score for both males and females. Father's brother and father's sister for females and mother's brother for males are exceptions to the general rule that older relatives rank high in dominance.

Category 2 (to teach). As might be expected, relatives who are older than ego are ranked high. Older relatives who do not rank high are father's brother and father's sister for females and older sister for males.

Category 3 (to help). Mother and father attain high scores for both men and women. Father's brother and older brother are fairly high for men; older brother, mother's sister, and older sister attain positive scores for women.

Category 4 (to sympathize). Mother and father are the most sympathetic relatives. In addition, a man expects sympathy from his mother's sister and older brother, and a woman from her older brother, older sister, and younger brother.

Category 5 (to like). For women, the important relatives are mother and father. Older brother, older sister, son, and daughter also attain positive scores. All are members of the nuclear family. For males, affection is more widely diffused outside the nuclear family. However, men do not feel themselves as intensely liked as women: note the higher scores of father and mother for females.

Category 6 (to coöperate). There is considerable difference between men and women. The relatives who coöperate with men are men and those who coöperate with women are women. Note also the higher scores of the relatives who coöperate with women as opposed to those who coöperate with men.

Category 7 (to depend). This category of behavior is surprisingly undifferentiated for men. Mother is the only really dependent person. Even son and daughter rank low in dependence. Women see their children as highly dependent upon them.

Category 8 (to respect). One's children are the most respectful relatives. Mother also ranks high in this category. Women feel somewhat more respected than men, as indicated by the scores for daughter and mother.

Category 9 (to obey). The most obedient relatives are son, daughter, and the younger siblings, all of whom are younger than ego. A person has little authority over younger people if they are not members of his nuclear family, as indicated by the scores for brother's child and sister's child.

Category 10 (to want approval). For women, the only positive scores are achieved by members of the nuclear family. Men show a slight positive score for father's brother and mother's sister. As

[1 [see cat. 116, pp. 372 - 375 --Ed.]

[P. 390, A]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

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Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

2/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- An.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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## ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 395, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

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988 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegelé'yu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegelé'yu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister.
[593] The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
[461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (bá·du? ʔúhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (ʔuwí·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

591 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gilis dagal ('winter houses')

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa's. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [593] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

## Death

Death (dey'ĕliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 883

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."